Stress assignment, focus and contrast in Camuno

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Focus

- **Focalization:**
  - Identifies a context-determined set of alternative propositions. [10]
  - F-marked item is selected. [10][4]

Focus is **ALWAYS** contrastive [2][3][8]

Focus in Camuno

- **SOV canonical ordering (VS unaccusative).**
- **Generalized post-verbal focalization.**
- **No in situ focalization.**
- **No focus association beyond post-verbal position.**
- **Incompatibility of negation and post-verbal foci.**

(1) a. l' a ardat CO LA FRANCA al hpetakol.
CL.3SG has watched with the Franca the show
'It is with Franca that he saw the play.'

b. l' a ardat AL PAOL al hpetakol co la Franca.
CL.3SG has watched the Paolo the show with the Franca
'It is Paolo that saw the play with Franca.'

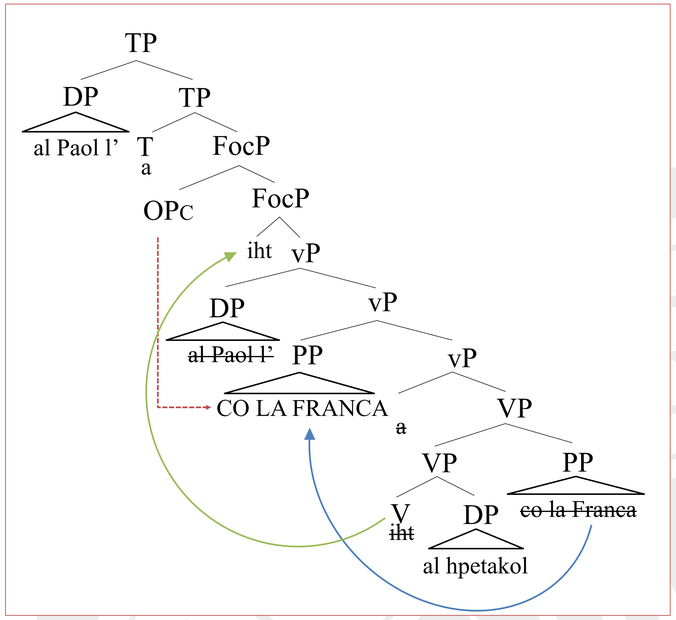
(2) a. l' a **FINAMAI** ardat CO LA FRANCA al hpetakol.
CL.3SG has even watched with the Franca the show
'It is with Franca that he saw the play.'

b. *l' a **FINAMAI** ardat al hpetakol CO LA FRANCA
CL.3SG has even watched the show with the Franca
'It is Paolo that saw the play with Franca.'

c. *l' a **MIA** ardat CO LA FRANCA al hpetakol
CL.3SG has NEG watched with the Franca the show
'It is with Franca that he saw the play.'

Syntactic movement

F-marked items adjoin to vP phase and enter the scope of a focus operator in FocP below T.



Mapping and stress assignment

At each Spell-Out point, a prosodic phrase is built [1][7] and stress assigned at PF by ordered constraints [11].

Mark-C: *assign stress to items introducing contrast*
Align-R[ω]: *align stress with right edge of an intonational unit*[5]
ι: *intonational phrase*
ρ: *prosodic phrase*

	Mark-C	Align-R[ω]
[[[x] [y_{FOC}]][[**Z**]]]	*	
[[[x] [**Y_{FOC}**]][[z]]]		
[[[**X**] [y_{FOC}]][[z]]]	*	

Main advantages

- **No in-situ focalization predicted**
  → focus must move | no stress assigned
- **Focus associate particles**
  → particles in [spec, FocP] | PIC
- **Ungrammaticality Foc/Neg**
  → intervention effects NEGOP & FOCOP

Exceptions and open questions

-How to F-mark XP?

-Contrastive fronting?
- Fronted foci unattested but acceptable.
- Fronted elements = contrastive topics.

-In situ focalization possible via adjacency with focus associate particle:
- Competing strategies?
- Morphological focus marking > syntactic?

- **Last-resort: clefting:**
  → how do it look like syntactically?

[1] Cheng, L. L.-S., & Downing, L. J. (2016). Phasal Syntax = Cyclic Phonology? *Syntax*. **[2] Cierchia, G. (2006).** Broaden your views. Implications of domain widening and the "logicality" of language. *Linguistic Inquiry*. **[3] Cruschina, S. (2021).** The greater the contrast, the greater the potential: On the effects of focus in syntax. *Glossa*. **[4] Cruschina (2022).** Focus and Focus Structures in the Romance Languages. **[5] Féry, C. (2013).** Focus as prosodic alignment. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*. **[6] Horvath, J. (2007).** Separating "Focus Movement" from Focus. *Phrasal and Clausal Architecture: Syntactic derivation and interpretation*. **[7] Kahnemuyipour, A. (2009).** *The Syntax of Sentential Stress*. **[8] Kratzer, A., & Selkirk, E. (2020).** Deconstructing information structure. **[9] Reinhart, T. (2006).** *Interface Strategies: Optimal and Costly Computations*. **[10] Rooth, M. E. (1985).** *Association with Focus (montague Grammar, Semantics, Only, Even)*. **[11] Szendrői, K. (2017).** The syntax of information structure and the PF interface. *Glossa*.